

## Israel Out of All Lebanon!



Israeli artillery barrage massacred over 100 men, women and children at UN outpost in Qana, Lebanon. AP

## Zionist Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!

APRIL 20—Several days after Israel had begun its massive, murderous bombardment of Lebanon, an Israeli army commander gloated, "We have not yet even moved into second gear." That "move" came on April 18, as an Israeli artillery barrage turned a United Nations camp near the southern Lebanese village of Qana into a fiery mass grave for dozens of men, women and children. The small UN observation post had been packed to overflowing with some 850 people from neighboring towns and villages who had come there seeking refuge from the bombing. Instead, they found themselves trapped in a nightmare of death and destruction, as upwards of 100 civilians were killed and over 100 more wounded. Hours earlier, Israeli jets fired missiles at an apartment house near Nabatiye, killing eleven, including six children.

Responding to a wave of international condemnations, Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres cynically expressed "regret" for the civilian casualties, while Likud opposition leader Benjamin Netanyahu talked of a "tragic mistake." *But what happened at Qana was no mistake.* In the guise of "retaliation" against a handful of low-grade, short-range Katyusha rocket attacks by the Islamic fundamentalist Hezbollah guerrillas, Israel has over the past week unleashed a deadly onslaught—grotesquely code-named "Operation Grapes of Wrath"—of jet fighters, missiles, Apache helicopter

gunships, tanks and self-propelled artillery against the *civilian population of Lebanon*. The avowed aim of this assault, imitating Hitler's policy of *Schrecklichkeit*, was to terrorize and drive out the population of southern Lebanon: "Hizbollah uses civilians for protection," said an Israeli army officer, "we are removing that shield" (*Financial Times* [London], 15 April).

The Israeli terror operation has been carried out with the full complicity and backing of U.S. imperialism. No "even-handed" calls for peace from the White House this time. It came only weeks after a U.S.-sponsored "anti-terrorism" summit in Sharm el Sheik, at which the assembled imperialist and neocolonial butchers endorsed Israel's bloody repression in the Occupied Territories. Wash-

ington gave Peres a green light for the murderous assault on Lebanon—with the aim of bullying its Syrian patron into submission. And when France tried to mediate a cease-fire the day before the Qana massacre, the U.S. told them to butt out.

Threatening to bomb anyone found south of the Litani River, Israel forced over 400,000 people—one-tenth of Lebanon's entire population—to flee from their homes. To punctuate this ultimatum, on Saturday, April 13, Israeli helicopter gunships slammed a rocket into an ambulance near Tyre, killing six—including a two-month-old infant and three other children. Elderly people or others who could not get away, like the refugees in Qana, were left to face the Israeli terror machine defenseless. But

even those who headed north found no refuge from the blistering Israeli terror assault. For the first time since its 1982 invasion, Israel launched aerial attacks on Beirut, targeting not only residential areas but power stations. This was clearly aimed at reversing the economic reconstruction which has begun to revive the Lebanese capital after more than a decade of civil war and Israeli destruction.

The scale of the current onslaught has already surpassed the last Israeli attack in 1993, when close to a half million people were forced from their homes. Indeed, the horrendous slaughter at Qana brought to mind scenes of Sabra and Shatila, Palestinian refugee camps where in 1982 Israel ordered its Lebanese puppet murder squads to perpetrate an infamous massacre which left well over a thousand dead.

The Israeli assault provoked defiance among the Lebanese masses: "We're all Hezbollah here," said a mother of three who had sought refuge in the UN compound in Tyre. It is tragic that Zionist terror and bankrupt petty-bourgeois Arab nationalism have created popular sympathy for such reactionary Islamic fundamentalists. Within Israel, outrage among the Arab population was so widespread that Israeli Arab leaders were forced to vow that they would, for the first time ever, boycott official celebrations for Israel's "Independence Day."

### Israel's "Good Neighbor" Policy

In part, "Operation Grapes of Wrath" is a hideously cynical ploy by Peres to get himself re-elected in the face of stiff opposition from his "hardline" Likud rival Netanyahu. Since a series of

*continued on page 4*

## Mad Cows and Capitalist Pigs



See Page 8



### Free Leonard Peltier!

In December, American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Leonard Peltier, who has been unjustly jailed for nearly 20 years and is one of the most prominent political prisoners in America, testified at a parole hearing held at Leavenworth Penitentiary. The frame-up of Peltier has been widely protested internationally and is recounted in the powerful 1992 documentary by Robert Redford, *Incident at Oglala*. After the December hearing, Peltier and his Defense Committee anxiously waited three months for a ruling from the U.S. Parole Commission (USPC) following a favorable recommendation by the presiding parole officer, who noted there were government fabrications and improprieties in the feds' case against Peltier.

On March 18, however, Peltier's hopes

were dashed when the national commissioners of the USPC denied him parole. The USPC claimed that Peltier hadn't given a factual account "consistent with the jury's verdict of guilt"! Like former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), also falsely imprisoned for murder, Peltier is a victim of the FBI's notorious Counter-Intelligence Program. COINTELPRO was used against the Communist Party and later extended to radical organizations like AIM and the Panthers, whose leaders were targeted by the FBI for "neutralization" by intimidation, prison or death. Peltier was framed up for the shooting deaths of two FBI agents during the feds' massive siege of the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975.

At that time, Pine Ridge was a war zone. Thugs sponsored by the Bureau of

Indian Affairs and FBI terrorized "traditionals" and tried to crush AIM activists. AIM was in the government's cross hairs because it was attempting to combat the enforced poverty and continued theft of Native American lands by the federal government and energy companies seeking rich uranium deposits in South Dakota. Between 1973 and 1976, paramilitary squads which were armed, trained and paid by the federal government carried out more than 300 physical assaults resulting in at least 69 murders of tribe members at Pine Ridge!

When the government launched their attack at Pine Ridge with 250 G-men on 26 June 1975, FBI agents Jack Coler and Ron Williams led the assault, but they didn't survive. The government's frame-up machinery went into high gear against Peltier after the 1976 acquittals of fellow AIM activists Dino Butler and Bob Robideau by a Cedar Rapids, Iowa jury who stated that they didn't believe the government witnesses, and that it seemed "pretty much a clear-cut case of self-defense."

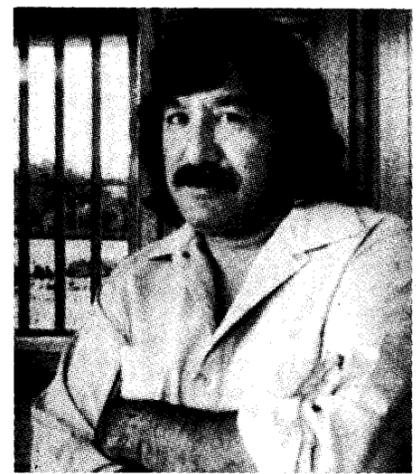
So the feds changed the venue for Peltier's trial and after a series of meetings with the FBI and prosecutors, the trial judge ruled inadmissible any defense evidence of anti-Indian violence. This was to prevent acquittal of Peltier on the grounds of self-defense against the FBI's murderous raid. The prosecution also concealed ballistics evidence that showed Peltier's innocence. Documents later released in response to a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit prove not only that Peltier did not shoot FBI agents Coler and Williams, but that the FBI knew this when they framed him up. Government attorneys have admitted that they don't know who killed the agents.

FBI director Louis Freeh stated in a letter read at the December hearing that Peltier should show remorse for the deaths of the agents. At the same hearing, prosecuting attorney Lynn Crooks argued that "somebody murdered those agents. Even if it wasn't him [Peltier], somebody had to do it." As far as the government is concerned, keeping Peltier put away forever is what's important.

The Partisan Defense Committee protested to the USPC in a letter demanding Leonard Peltier's immediate release. The parole officer who made the favorable recommendation on Peltier has since lost his job within the USPC, and the Commission says it will not consider a "re-examination" until December 2008! To obtain a copy of the FBI files released on Leonard Peltier and for more information, write to the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 583, Lawrence, KS 66044, or call (913) 842-5774.

### SWP Member Mark Curtis Fights for Parole

After spending more than seven years in prison on frame-up sexual assault and burglary charges, Mark Curtis was paroled by Iowa prison officials last November. However, five months later he is still in the Iowa State Penitentiary in Fort Madison, denied the right to join his wife in Chicago. Curtis is a member



Leonard Peltier

Eli Reichman

of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who was active in defending Latino co-workers and fellow unionists under attack by the hated Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Mark Curtis was convicted on 14 September 1988 in a Des Moines court of third-degree sexual abuse and first-degree burglary, based on the state's charge that six months earlier Curtis forced his way onto the porch of a black family's house and attempted to rape 15-year-old Demetria Morris. Yet there is no account by anyone, not even by the police or the young woman, that a rape ever took place; nor was there anything stolen, nor was there a weapon, nor any evidence of physical contact between Curtis and the alleged victim. From day one, Curtis has steadfastly maintained his innocence.

The Partisan Defense Committee has joined with numerous trade unionists, civil rights activists and defenders of democratic rights seeking the immediate release of Curtis. However, Illinois authorities are refusing his request for an out-of-state parole to Chicago where his wife, Kate Kaku, now lives. Curtis has at least three job offers awaiting his arrival in Chicago, where he intends to work and practice politics. However, Illinois authorities denied his parole, claiming that he was not a resident of Illinois, had no family there, and did not have a valid marriage license.

On March 19, Curtis's lawyer was told that although the Illinois Department of Corrections had received a copy of his marriage license, his application was already closed. Curtis must now reapply to the same Illinois authorities who have refused from the outset to cooperate with processing his move to Chicago. Meanwhile, the Iowa parole board cynically uses the Illinois Department of Corrections' refusal to approve his Chicago parole to keep Curtis behind bars.

This is nothing but a continued political witchhunt by Iowa and Illinois parole authorities against an avowed socialist. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a letter to the Illinois Department of Corrections demanding that his parole request be honored. Letters on behalf of Curtis can be sent to Vivian Sneed, Illinois Department of Corrections, Executive Office Building, 1301 Concordia Court, Springfield, IL 62794-9277, or faxed to (217) 522-9652. ■



TROTSKY

### In Defense of the Irish Easter Uprising

This April marks the 80th anniversary of the Irish Easter Uprising in Dublin which was bloodily suppressed by British imperialism. One of the principal leaders of the uprising, revolutionary socialist James Connolly, who was executed by the British, fought under the banner of an Irish workers republic. Nonetheless, some left socialists such as Karl Radek dismissed the Dublin revolt as a petty-bourgeois nationalist



LENIN

adventure or "putsch" in which the international proletariat had no interest. Lenin strongly denounced this view, insisting that the struggles of oppressed colonial peoples, under the leadership of the working class, were a powerful blow against the capitalist-imperialist system.

The term "putsch," in its scientific sense, may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators or stupid maniacs, and has aroused no sympathy among the masses. The centuries-old Irish national movement, having passed through various stages and combinations of class interest, manifested itself...in street fighting conducted by a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a section of the workers after a long period of mass agitation, demonstrations, suppression of newspapers, etc. Whoever calls such a rebellion a "putsch" is either a hardened reactionary, or a doctrinaire hopelessly incapable of envisaging a social revolution as a living phenomenon....

The socialist revolution in Europe cannot be anything other than an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it—without such participation, mass struggle is impossible, without it no revolution is possible—and just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But objectively they will attack capital, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a variegated and discordant, motley and outwardly fragmented, mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it, capture power, seize the banks, expropriate the trusts which all hate (though for different reasons!), and introduce other dictatorial measures which in their totality will amount to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of socialism, which, however, will by no means immediately "purge" itself of petty-bourgeois slag....

We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the proletariat's great war of liberation for socialism, we did not know how to utilize every popular movement against every single disaster imperialism brings in order to intensify and extend the crisis.

—V.I. Lenin, *The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up* (July 1916)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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## Outrage! Geronimo's Case Dumped

The fight by Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) to expose his frame-up by the LAPD and FBI's COINTELPRO was derailed April 17 by the capitalist system of racist injustice. At the bidding of Los Angeles district attorney Gil Garcetti, Superior Court judge Michael Cowell refused to hear Geronimo's petition to overturn his 1972 conviction. Ignoring the law, Cowell outrageously denounced Geronimo's attorneys for filing in the "wrong" court and transferred his case to the California Supreme Court—a bastion of reaction appointed in their majority by pro-death penalty, anti-immigrant, anti-affirmative action Governor Wilson. The State Supreme Court can now either direct that Geronimo have a hearing or, more likely, dismiss the petition altogether. The Partisan Defense Committee, which has championed Geronimo's cause for more than a decade, joined the Geronimo Defense Committee and others in protest outside the court on April 17. The struggle to free Geronimo must be a fight for mass labor-centered mobilizations in defense of this anti-racist political prisoner.

# Fled Barbaric Mutilation, Jailed by INS Asylum for Fauziya Kasinga!



Falk/NY Times

Fauziya Kasinga

This May 2, the Board of Immigration Appeals, the highest tribunal in the U.S. immigration system, will hear an appeal for asylum by a young African woman, Fauziya Kasinga, who has been imprisoned ever since arriving in this country two years ago. She fled a forced marriage and the obligatory female genital mutilation which would have been imposed by tribal elders. Only 17 years old when her aunt promised her to a man with three other wives, Kasinga managed to escape from Togo. But she fell into a living hell in the clutches of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Kasinga was thrown into the INS' infamous privatized jail in Elizabeth, New Jersey, a prison-for-profit run by Esmor Correctional Services; inmates exploded in revolt against unbearable conditions in June 1995. Kasinga was tear-gassed and beaten, shackled in chains at times, denied sanitary napkins

women's health, between 85 and 114 million women alive today have been mutilated (*Scientific American*, August 1994). The most common practice, excision, entails cutting the clitoris, often its removal, and slicing off some or all parts of the labia minora and majora. In some cases, the remaining lips of the vagina are then sewn up, leaving only a tiny opening. Urination and menstruation are excruciating; infection is guaranteed; the women are deprived of the organs of sexual pleasure and suffer multiple medical complications throughout their lives.

But when Kasinga presented her case in court, Philadelphia immigration judge Donald V. Ferlise dismissed her plea as lacking "consistency," "rationality" and "persuasiveness," declaring, "This alien is not credible!" Kasinga was then shackled, handcuffed and led from the courtroom. So much for the humanitarian pretensions of "democratic" U.S. imperialism! The racist bigots of the INS, busy murdering and beating Mexicans at the border and locking up Chinese refugees as they get off the ship, are utterly hostile to the human rights of black African women. The only political refugees welcomed in this country have been anti-communist scum like the Cuban *gusanos*. We demand immediate asylum for Fauziya Kasinga!

As we wrote in *Women and Revolution* (No. 41, Summer/Autumn 1992), in "The Crime of Female Genital Mutilation":

"There are standards in the evolution of human culture. Americans fought a civil war over the 'quaint cultural tradition' of its Southern states; while the Confederacy argued that it had a right to self-determination, few today condone the practice of slavery. Similarly, female genital mutilation is not a relative cultural trait but a violent act of savagery. Those who have over the years covered the systematic mutilation of young girls in a shroud of silence because it is 'an African tradition' are in fact promoting a kind of racism and are sacrificing women on the altar of liberal guilt....

"The question of female genital mutilation is intrinsically bound up with the social oppression of women. Emancipation is a material act; without a fight for social liberation, the masses must remain ground down by poverty and subjugated by imperialist exploitation. In order to uproot prefeudal autocracy and imperialist domination, the working class must play the central role and fight for a social transformation through proletarian revolution. This requires a party which can wage such an international struggle, a party led by Marxist revolutionaries who alone today apply the universal values of freedom and equality of Enlightenment humanism."

We print below a protest sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to the INS demanding immediate asylum for

Fauziya Kasinga. We urge our readers to send letters to Doris Meissner, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 425 "I" Street N.W., Room 7100, Washington, D.C. 20536, or fax (202) 514-3296; and to J. Scott Blackman, District Director, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1600 Callowhill Street, Philadelphia, PA 19130. You can write to Fauziya Kasinga directly at: York County Prison, 3401 Concord Road, York, PA 17402.

22 April 1996

Doris Meissner  
Commissioner  
Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ms. Meissner,

We strongly protest the imprisonment of Fauziya Kasinga. This courageous young woman has suffered horribly in American prisons for over two years, though she has committed no crime.

demand that she be immediately freed.

We support Fauziya Kasinga's request for asylum, which will be heard May 2 by the Board of Immigration Appeals. Female genital mutilation, a cruel and dangerous maiming causing untold suffering and crippling disease, is a means to maintain control over women. The INS Resource Information Center itself in 1994 published an "alert" on female genital mutilation, warning it has "serious,



Elaine Simon

Fauziya was one of many prisoners who were brutally beaten at privately run immigration prison in New Jersey during rampage by guards last June.

Fauziya Kasinga fled her native Togo in 1994 when she was 17 years old, only hours after being forced into an arranged marriage; as she has said, tribal elders were coming "to scrape my woman parts off"—that is, to impose the barbaric practice of female genital mutilation on the teenager.

Kasinga was seized at Newark International Airport and thrown into the INS' Esmor detention center, where conditions were so unbearable that prisoners revolted in June 1995. Today Kasinga is in York County Prison, Pennsylvania. We

often fatal consequences" and that resistance "can have dire consequences" including being considered someone "who deserves to be killed." This barbaric practice, widespread throughout Africa and increasing in European countries like France and Britain, is an act of deadly violence against women.

We hail Fauziya Kasinga's courage in resisting her forced marriage and the violent and hideous cutting away of her sexual organs. Grant her asylum now!

Richard Genova  
for the Partisan Defense Committee

**80 Million Women Maimed**

**The Crime of Female Genital Mutilation**

**Women and Revolution**

**Women and Revolution issue No. 41 (Summer/Autumn 1992), available for \$1 from Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.**

and put in an isolation cell. Later she and others seeking asylum were sent to prisons in Pennsylvania, where she was strip-searched and locked in a maximum security cell with an American convict. "I keep asking myself, 'What did I do to deserve such punishment? What did I do?'" she said as she sat in York County Prison (*New York Times*, 15 April).

Kasinga was protected from the practice of female genital mutilation by her father, who opposed this heinous barbarity. But when he died, she was threatened with the ritual, a common fate of millions of girls and women, mainly in Africa. According to a global survey of

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**Spartacist Events**

**CHICAGO**  
**Spartacist League Forum**  
Saturday, 7 p.m., April 27: *Black Separatism and "Black Capitalism" Are a Dead End! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*; University of Chicago, Ida Noyes, West Lounge, 2nd Floor

**Spartacus Youth Club Class Series**  
Thursdays, 6 p.m. Next classes, May 9: *The Struggle for Workers Power: Lessons of the Paris Commune and the Bolshevik Revolution*; May 23: *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; University of Chicago, 106 Cobb Hall  
For more information: (312) 454-4930

**NEW YORK CITY**  
**Spartacist League Forum**  
Friday, 7 p.m., April 26: *Clinton/Dole Push for Racist "Law and Order," For a Multiracial Workers Party to Fight for All the Oppressed!*; Hunter College, Rm. 511, Hunter West (68th St. & Lexington Ave.)

**Spartacus Youth Club Class Series**  
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next class, April 27: *The Popular Front: Roadblock to Revolution*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street, near Church Street)  
For more information: (212) 267-1025

**WASHINGTON, D.C.**  
**Spartacus Youth Club Forum**  
Saturday, 2 p.m., May 4: *Black Separatism and "Black Capitalism" Are a Dead End, Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom: Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism!* University of Maryland, College Park, Stamp Student Union, Room 2136

**Spartacus Youth Club Class Series**  
Mondays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, April 29; *For a Multiracial Revolutionary Workers Party! For International Socialism!*; University of Maryland, College Park, Hornbake Library, Non-Print Media Section, Room P  
For more information: (202) 872-8240

# Vile Fascist Provocation at Auschwitz

In a revolting and sinister provocation, some 80 Polish skinheads marched through the former Nazi death camp of Auschwitz on April 6, spewing anti-Semitic filth and giving Hitler salutes. Organized by Boleslaw Tejkowski's "Polish National Party," the fascist thugs strutted through the camp gate—with its infamous inscription "Arbeit macht frei" ("Work will make you free")—ranting, "Jews out of the government!" Under the benevolent protection of the police, the Polish Nazis continued their vile desecration at the adjoining Birkenau murder factory where millions of Jews, Roma (Gypsies), Russians, Poles and others were exterminated in Hitler's gas chambers.

That a gang of latter-day Polish Nazis could use the symbol of the Nazi Holocaust as a platform for anti-Semitic incitement is a sharp expression of the capitalist counterrevolution which has brought untold misery to Poland's working people and an orgy of chauvinist and racist agitation against Roma and Jews. Lech Walesa's Solidarność came to power pushing Polish clerical-nationalism, which is synonymous with anti-Semitism. Walesa's failed bid for re-election as president last fall was marked by virulently anti-Communist and anti-Semitic dia-

tribes by right-wing politicians and the Catholic hierarchy.

The fascist race-hate rally was expressly timed to precede a commemoration of the victims of the Holocaust which drew some 5,000 Jewish youth to Auschwitz on April 16. Echoing Walesa's outburst last year—at the time of the 50th anniversary of the Red Army's liberation of Auschwitz—that the Jews had usurped the camp's memory for their own purposes, Tejkowski railed that Auschwitz is "holy Polish earth." "Holy," indeed! The skinhead march was organized to demand that the government allow construction of a shopping center (!)—halted after an international outcry—to continue across from the camp site. This grotesque project followed an earlier provocation by Carmelite nuns who had erected a huge crucifix and a convent at the camp a few years ago, seeking to bury the anti-Semitic character of the Holocaust. When the nuns were finally evicted, the joint German-Polish investment firm "Maja," which is behind the shopping center, took over the building they had occupied and hung anti-Semitic banners from the windows (*Junge Welt* [Berlin], 9 April).

The skinhead provocation took place less than four months after ex-Stalinist Aleksander Kwasniewski of the Dem-

ocratic Left Alliance (SLD) replaced Walesa as president. Kwasniewski and the Polish Social Democracy (SdRP) which he previously headed are now more than ever responsible for the capitalist social and political decay that breeds the fascists: mass unemployment, starvation wages, attacks on women's rights and escalating racism. The former Stalinist bureaucracy from which the SdRP emerged played no small part in fostering Polish nationalism, also portraying Auschwitz solely as a symbol of Polish suffering, and paving the way for capitalist restoration. And Polish "far left" groups like Ofensywa (affiliated to the British Militant Labour), the fake-Trotskyist supporters of the late Ernest Mandel organized around the paper *Dalej*, and Solidarność Socjalistyczna (associates of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain and the International Socialist Organization in the U.S.) share a sordid history of hailing Walesa's anti-Semitic outfit and capitulating to chauvinist reaction today.

Uniquely among the Polish left, the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP) stands on a record of opposition to Solidarność counterrevolution. At the same time, warning that the role of the Social Democrats is to administer IMF austerity while pushing nationalist and

racist policies, our comrades insisted that there was no choice for working people in the electoral contest between Kwasniewski and Walesa last December. Striving to be a Leninist "tribune of the people," the SGP combats anti-Semitism and anti-Roma racism—fighting for worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop the fascists—and calls for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. Above all, the SGP fights to forge a Trotskyist vanguard party, based on the heroic internationalist traditions of the Polish workers movement exemplified by the Jewish Communist leader Rosa Luxemburg, to lead the struggle for socialist revolution.

In a joint statement of the SGP, the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany and Spartacist/Moscow distributed at the January 1995 commemoration of the liberation of Auschwitz (see "Fifty Years Ago: The Red Army Liberated Auschwitz!" *WV* No. 615, 27 January 1995), our comrades declared: "Rosa Luxemburg emphasized that humanity stands before the alternatives: socialism or barbarism. Auschwitz epitomized capitalist barbarism. We stand, like this great revolutionary fighter, for the unity of the proletariats of Poland, Germany and all the lands of the former Soviet Union."

## Israel...

(continued from page 1)

terrorist attacks in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv in February, which eliminated Peres' hefty lead in the opinion polls, the supposedly "dovish" Peres—who was the architect of Israel's military establishment—has carried out a campaign of anti-Arab terror which rivals that of his most rabid predecessors. The Occupied Territories remain "sealed off" by a starvation blockade and subjected to vicious repression, implemented not only by Israeli troops but by Yasir Arafat's puppet Palestinian Authority. Behind the sham of "autonomy"—over the Gaza Strip and a half-dozen isolated ghettos in the West Bank—the job of Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is to act as enforcer of the Zionist occupation.

But beyond immediate electoral considerations, the massive terror-bombing

real target in Lebanon was not the ragtag Hezbollah guerrilla force but Syria, which is the effective power with 35,000 troops stationed there. This was underscored by Israel's deliberate bombing of a Syrian anti-aircraft battery in Beirut.

As Israeli civil libertarian and Holocaust survivor Israel Shahak stressed in a telephone interview with *Workers Vanguard* yesterday, "The Israeli aim is to make Lebanon openly and publicly a vassal state." As part of this, the Zionist rulers are demanding that their "South Lebanon Army" puppet militia—which has been disintegrating recently, with widespread defections and outright mutinies—be incorporated into the Lebanese army while continuing to act as direct cops for Israel in its "security zone" in southern Lebanon. "Israel wants hegemony over the Arab Middle East," said Shahak. And to do that the Zionist garrison state has to throw its bloody military weight around. Peres sometimes echoes the phony rhetoric of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "good neighbor policy" toward U.S. imperialism's Latin American neocolonies in the 1930s, while wielding Teddy Roosevelt's "big stick."

A key step in this strategic design to achieve Israeli domination as U.S. imperialism's top cop in the region came with the signing of a military pact with Turkey in February, allowing Israeli war planes to fly over Turkish air space—in "Syria's backyard," as the Israeli press has pointed out. In reporting on this new "military partnership," the *Washington Post* (16 April) notes that "it points to two emerging camps in the region: those that support the Israeli-Arab peace process—including Israel, Turkey, Jordan, Egypt, the Palestinian administration and the United Arab Emirates—and those that do not, such as Iran, Syria and Iraq." Under the new pact, Israeli planes will have use of the U.S.-controlled Adana air base in southwestern Turkey. It has also been reported on Turkish TV that Israeli planes have been bombing training bases of the Kurdish PKK in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

This burgeoning Pax Americana in the Near East is conditioned by the collapse and counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which served as a military and diplomatic patron for Third World nationalist regimes like Syria and Iraq. Already at the time of the U.S.-led



Israeli troops arrest Palestinians in West Bank as part of recent wave of mass repression.

Persian Gulf slaughter in 1991, Syrian strongman Hafez el-Assad indicated his readiness to enlist in Washington's "New World Order" by lining up against Iraq, as did Iran (which has been a tacit American ally both in Afghanistan and more recently in Bosnia). Following the 1993 Israel-PLO accord, Syria agreed to U.S.-sponsored peace talks with Israel. Balking at Assad's demand for a complete return of the Golan Heights area seized by Israel in 1967, Peres pulled out of the talks a couple of months ago. But the Zionist rulers would be more than happy to make a deal with the Syrian dictator on their terms, recognizing Assad's talents for brutal repression, as when he slaughtered 20,000 people to quell the 1982 uprising in the central Syrian city of Hama.

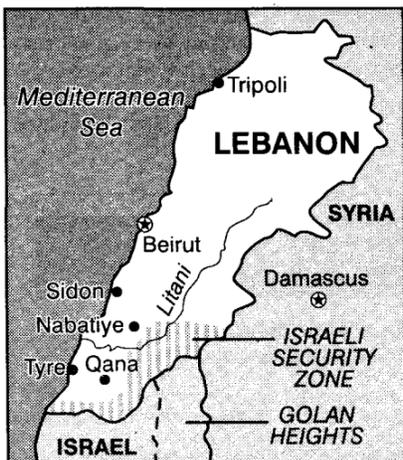
### For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

For the past two decades, tiny Lebanon—once the financial capital of the Near East—has been ravaged by repeated Israeli onslaughts and internecine ethnic and sectarian bloodletting. Even more so than Israel, where two peoples contest the same territory, Lebanon is a patchwork of numerous ethnic and religious communities. But in 1975, Lebanon was

the site of a working-class uprising which could have been a beacon for workers and peasants throughout the region. This possibility was cut off, however, as the PLO nationalists and their "progressive" Muslim allies channeled the plebeian upsurge into an ethnic civil war with the Christian Maronite minority.

Nationalism seeks to obscure the fundamental divide in bourgeois society, the class line between the toiling masses and their exploiters. In this region with its deeply interpenetrated populations, nationalism serves to derail struggle for genuine national and social emancipation, above all for the subjugated Palestinian people. The rounds of fratricidal slaughter and cynical "peace" agreements—written with the blood of the working people—underscore the need for socialist revolution to sweep away all the Zionist butchers, military strongmen and feudalist sheiks and imams in the region. The key task is the construction of internationalist, Leninist vanguard parties that defend the right to self-determination for both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples, through a socialist federation of the Near East.

*Israel out of all Lebanon! All Zionist troops, settlers out of the Occupied Territories!* ■



WV Map

Israel occupies "security zone" in southern Lebanon, and Zionist terror bombing has now driven out 400,000 people from region south of the Litani River.

of Lebanon is part and parcel of Israel's strategic drive to be the regional "superpower" in the Near East. In league with their senior partners in Washington, the Zionist rulers seek to impose a "New Order" in the Near East. This is the real meaning of the so-called "peace process" orchestrated by U.S. imperialism. The

# Powerhouse of NYC Labor Shackled by Union Tops

## Transit Workers: Fight Mass Layoffs!



Over 2,500 NYC transit workers demonstrated outside TA headquarters in downtown Brooklyn, March 20. WV Photo

NEW YORK CITY—If Wall Street and its politicians get their way, the body count of this city's jobs massacre is about to soar higher. Last week, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani announced that another 12,000 municipal jobs would be slashed in the next fiscal year. Hospital workers, who have been subjected to one wave of layoffs after another as part of a ruthless drive to privatize or strangle the public health system, now face as many as 8,000 job losses. Schoolteachers are also threatened with cuts. After defying the AFT (American Federation of Teachers) tops and voting down Giuliani's wage-freeze contract offer last December, the teachers now face a "take it or leave it" ultimatum from City Hall and the union misleaders.

Now the Transit Authority (TA) has launched an unprecedented drive to lay off 1,500 subway and bus workers this year and get rid of 800 token booth clerks overall in the next two years. Though dirty and dangerous, work in the subway tunnels, maintenance shops, bus depots and train stations was once coveted for its job security, if nothing else. No more. Since 1989, the TA has eliminated 5,000 jobs through attrition. These criminal cuts have made the subways and buses more dangerous than they already were for workers and riders alike. And now the TA wants to introduce "one person train operation," eliminating subway

conductors, which would lead to even more deaths on the rails.

Every time the bankers and financiers scream for their interest payments and tax breaks, it comes out of the hides of working people and minorities. The schools are being run into the ground; welfare, health care and other social services are being decimated; the public museums, botanical gardens and zoos that once offered working-class families some access to leisure and cultural activities now charge extortionate admission fees. The latest 20 percent increase in transit fares—to \$1.50—has taken a huge bite out of the pockets of those least able to afford it. Meanwhile, rampant cop terror in the ghettos and barrios is aimed at intimidating and terrorizing an ever more desperate population.

What's needed is a fight to reverse the layoffs and cuts, and that means mobilizing union power against the entire capitalist establishment of New York. The 32,000-strong, multiracial Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 is perhaps the strongest municipal union in the country, the result of bitter battles waged in the past. It could stand at the head of all New York City labor, with the support of millions of other working people and minorities, in a struggle against these deadly cuts. Public transit is still the lifeblood of this capital of finance, and the TWU has the power to

bring it grinding to a halt through solid strike action.

To wage a fight against the layoffs and budget cuts, labor will have to defy the state's Taylor Law, which outlaws strikes by public employees, and refuse to bow to strikebreaking court injunctions. Unleashing the TWU's power demands a completely new kind of leadership—one that goes beyond the narrow business unionism that accepts the capitalists' demands for "fiscal responsibility." Mobilizing the labor movement in struggle means fighting for a workers party, breaking the shackles that bind the unions to the Democratic and Republican parties of capital with their racist divide-and-rule ploys. What's needed is a class-struggle leadership that takes as its starting point the felt needs and interests of all working people and the oppressed and advances a program of transitional demands posing a fight against this whole system of capitalist exploitation.

### Bureaucratic In-Fighting and Backstabbing

In recent months, hundreds of TA bus mechanics, cleaners, stockroom clerks and skilled tradesmen have been forced to change job titles and accept different jobs at lower pay, while being made to run the gauntlet of physicals, drug and alcohol tests and licensing procedures. Without a peep of opposition, the Local 100 bureaucracy has allowed the TA to lay off scores of provisionals and low-seniority workers and turned a blind eye to speedup, horrendous overtime and deadly working conditions. "Contracting out" and "privatization" of cleaning and maintenance work proceed apace, undermining the power of the TWU as an industrial union representing all workers in transit. Meanwhile, the TA wants to hire part-timers—no doubt at lower pay and with limited or no benefits—as bus operators, the single largest job title.

No wonder over 2,500 mechanics, cleaners, clerks, bus operators, motormen and conductors turned out for a March 20 union rally outside TA headquarters in downtown Brooklyn. But the union tops limited the rally to a blow-off-steam affair largely aimed at promoting the "new" local leadership—and

their Democratic Party "friends." Newly installed union president Willie James went on about "unity, activism and respect," but the respect seemed mostly intended for the TA's new "downsizing" president, Lawrence Reuter, whom James welcomed.

James said absolutely nothing about organizing a union fight against the layoffs, devoting all his fighting words to lambasting his critics inside the union as "jackleg preachers." By late last year, the union brass was so discredited that TWU International president (and former Local 100 chief) Sonny Hall felt compelled to do some damage control. In January, Hall booted out Damaso Seda as president and had him replaced by James, the local's first black president. In their cynical maneuver to quell internal dissent, the union tops finally made a bow to the fact that the local's membership is predominantly black and minority. Arnold Cherry, another black official, was made vice president of the troublesome Car Maintenance Division. A past member of the "Rank-and-File Caucus" (which helped sell out the 1980 strike!), Cherry touts his ties to the shopfloor. Now he is touring the shops to stump for the Democrats, grotesquely holding up the racist police "union" as a model for how to pressure Albany through a solid voting bloc.

But the main "opposition" to the Hall/Seda/James gang, New Directions, is itself an integral part of the Local 100 bureaucracy, holding one-third of the seats on the Executive Board and controlling several key union divisions. What's the difference between the "old guard" and New Directions? Just about zilch. Braintrustered by some burned-out "leftists," New Directions has repeatedly dragged the union and its officials into the capitalist courts. In 1990, New Directions hailed a "strike" by the sadistic Rikers Island prison guards. But when it came to the strike earlier this year by the heavily immigrant and minority building workers of SEIU Local 32B-32J, New Directions refused to call for the TWU to honor the janitors' picket lines. One prominent New Directions member proclaims that she regularly crossed the picket lines!

A "leadership" that spits on picket lines, runs to the bosses' courts and cozies up to the racist cops is definitely not going to lead a fight that mobilizes the city's heavily minority working people. A thorough housecleaning in Local 100 is long overdue, but that's a job for the workers. The precondition for union democracy is complete independence from the bosses' state. The membership needs the right to elect and recall all union officials, who should be paid no more than the top pay of the workers they represent. As part of their job, officials should collect union dues, directly facing the workers they represent on the shopfloor—abolish the dues check-off, which gives management control over union funds!

At bottom, both wings of the TWU bureaucracy share a perspective of opposing class struggle in favor of pressuring the racist Democrats to act as "friends of labor." That was a keynote of the March 20 rally. Sharing the stage with Willie James were other NYC union big shots like the craven Stanley Hill, head of AFSCME District Council 37 and Giuliani's chief labor henchman in pushing through the latest sellout city contract. They all joined in pushing to "get out the vote in November" for Clinton's Democrats. Clinton got the ball rolling for Republican governor Pataki and Mayor Giuliani to slash NYC's transit budget to the bone by signing the 44 percent cut in federal transit aid last year.

But while the platform speakers at the March 20 rally called on transit workers

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# Down With "Anti-Subversive" Law in Japan

Since the poison-gas attack in the Tokyo subways by the bizarre Buddhist Aum Shinrikyo cult last spring, the Japanese ruling class has used its arsenal of state repression against Aum to set a precedent for going after the workers movement and the left.

That the heightened state repression would be used particularly against labor unions was clearly demonstrated when police raided the militant Minato Godo local, part of the Osaka region of the National Metal and Machine Workers Union. During the predawn hours of February 20, four hundred cops swooped down on 41 offices and homes of Minato Godo members. This local supported a one-day strike by workers at an Osaka hospital, joining in and defending their picket line. For this exemplary act of labor solidarity, eight members of Minato Godo were jailed for 16 days, and three are facing a court hearing. State "investigations" into the union continue.

At two mass meetings in March, the Metal Workers union brought out hundreds of supporters of the jailed union militants. The authorities also attempted (unsuccessfully) to link the Osaka union to a left-wing group, Chukaku-ha, two of whose members are currently being prosecuted under the 44-year-old, Cold War "anti-subversives" law and which has been active in agitation against this police-state legislation.

We reprint below an edited version of a 22 February leaflet put out by our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan, denouncing the draconian "Anti-Subversive Activities Law" and linking the struggle for democratic rights to the fight for socialist revolution.

\* \* \*

The Japanese bourgeois state is using the justified social outrage against the widely despised Aum Shinrikyo cult to

They are the real terrorists.

The role of the imperialist government is to establish Japan's role in the New World Disorder following the collapse of the USSR, fatally undermined by decades of Stalinist nationalism and bureaucratic rule. The Hashimoto popular-front government, with the support of the

capitalist state is trying to execute—in Japan we fight against the feudalistic, barbaric death penalty which represents an epitome of state repression.

As the economy continues to stagnate, the bourgeoisie is trying to further divide Japanese workers, Korean residents and minorities against one another, and to

fight for full citizenship rights for all workers who live here and for their organization into class-struggle unions together with Japanese workers. We defend the democratic rights of Chosen Soren and all other organizations which seek to defend oppressed minorities in this racist country.

The anti-democratic move to legitimize the Anti-Subversive Activities Law is part of a broad ruling-class assault on the oppressed, in which high-handed repression combines with arrogant social viciousness: victims of capitalism are treated as non-people to be punished for being poor. In January, homeless people living along the Shinjuku underground passage were forcibly removed by the police for the construction of an "electric sidewalk" (for which no one sees the necessity) and dragged off to a temporary shelter which is more like a prison. This was ordered by Aoshima, whose election as governor of Tokyo was supported by the Communist Party and many leftist organizations.

We say: the homeless, including those in Kobe still without decent shelter, should seize the imperial palace and the posh, warm homes of the *jusen* (real estate) thieves. To fight back against the government offensive requires new working-class leadership which does not accept the limits of capitalism, which champions the needs of all the oppressed whom capitalism sets against each other.



Tokyo riot police brutalize anti-militarist protesters, June 1992.

Financial Times

Social Democratic Party, lost no time in sending the imperialist military—the butchers of Nanjing during Japan's bloody occupation of China in the 1930s, the rapists of hundreds of thousands of "comfort women" during World War II, and the organizers of the infamous Unit 731, which engaged in Nazi-like medical "experiments"—to the Golan Heights,

scapegoat immigrant laborers. In spring 1993, when the government and immigration bureau forcibly removed Iranian workers from Yoyogi Park, the Spartacist Group Japan warned: "The new Hosokawa government, aided by the Socialist Party, is one of protectionism and austerity and these attacks on foreign workers are only a prelude to the coming attacks on the Japanese working class" (*Spartacist* No. 15, September 1993).

The frequent attacks against Korean residents reflect deep-rooted racism and chauvinism. In April 1994, Osaka police escalated such attacks by raiding eight locations, including the Osaka branch of Chosen Soren, a Korean rights organization sympathetic to North Korea. Victimization of minorities is an easy recourse for a repressive regime facing social crisis: Koreans were the target of massive state-sanctioned pogroms after the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923. Today, Koreans are denied citizenship if they refuse to renounce their nationality, and are barred entry into the "imperial" universities and employment in the *zaibatsu* companies (giant conglomerates derived from leading families of feudal Japan) and most government jobs.

As a tribune of the people, the SGJ

## The Capitalist State: Armed Bodies of Men Defending Bourgeois Property

The government is the ruling class in power. Their whole system is based on consuming the lives of the working people for profit, on suppressing and killing those who resist exploitation, on fanning the flames of racism. Built into this system is the fundamental need and appetite for wars up to and including bloody world conflagration.

The Anti-Subversive Activities Law was enacted in July 1952, following the signing of the U.S.-Japan security treaty—an anti-Soviet alliance—amidst great social struggle both internationally and domestically. When the second Yoshida government first attempted in March of that year to institute the Anti-Subversive Activities Law and establish the new thought police, the Public Security Investigation Agency, massive workers' resistance, including strikes, broke out. In April, over one million workers demonstrated. On May Day 1952, police killed two demonstrators and injured more than 2,000. By the end of July, 1,232 workers had been arrested, including many Korean workers who

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Spartacist Japan

At 1993 demonstration against roundup of Iranian immigrants in Tokyo's Yoyogi Park, Spartacist Group Japan demands "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!"

establish a dangerous precedent in applying the Anti-Subversive Activities Law. This law permits the government to restrict all activities or dissolve organizations considered to be terrorist and subversive. The real target of this dangerous assault on basic democratic rights is not Aum, but those whom the bourgeoisie deems to be a threat to their rule, particularly labor unions, leftists, minorities, and those who fight in defense of the oppressed.

The Spartacist Group Japan, a revolutionary Trotskyist organization, stands for mass militant protests against the state's determination to use this draconian law. The indefensible and indiscriminate terrorism unleashed by Aum—including the murder of subway workers who rushed to aid those stricken by sarin gas—pales in comparison to the crimes committed by the Japanese bourgeoisie. The capitalist rulers and their state—who have military, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, police, prisons and laws at their disposal—have far more blood on their hands and are vastly more dangerous than any crazed cult.

the third overseas deployment since Japanese troops were sent to Cambodia as UN "peacekeepers" in 1992. Japanese imperialism is laying the basis to become an international military policeman to expand and protect its economic interests in a new "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere," Japan's euphemistic name for its military/economic empire during the '30s.

To accomplish this, at home the ruling class needs to impose a policy of economic austerity and reinforce the oppressive structure needed for the maintenance of bourgeois law and order. The capitalist state rests on the violent exploitation and repression of the working class, repression recently beefed up by the recruitment of 2,000 new cops, the nationwide expansion of SWAT teams and the murder of 15 death row prisoners since March 1993. Just as we have played a leading role in the campaign of international protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee to win freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal—eloquent black journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther, whom the racist American



Kyodo Photo Service

As Japanese ruling class was pushing through Anti-Subversive Activities Law in 1952, police attacked massive May Day demonstration, killing two and injuring more than 2,000.

# International Support for Brazil Union

## Partisan Defense Committee Statement

20 March 1996

Paulo César Baltazar  
Mayor of the City of Volta Redonda  
R.J., Brazil

Dear Mayor Baltazar,

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently protests the invasion of the 13 March union meeting of the Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR) by Military Police in Volta Redonda. This assault by police armed with pistols and 12-gauge shotguns is a deadly dangerous threat not only to the militant Municipal Workers Union but to the entire labor movement.

In 1988, the army massacred striking workers in Volta Redonda who were occupying Latin America's largest steel plant. The massacre of landless peasants by the Military Police together with the army in the state of Rondônia last August; the systematic murder of thousands of black street children by these same police and the municipal guards in the state of Rio de Janeiro; the "disappearance" of black trade unionist Joel Rufino and the murder of other leftists—these show the real face of "democracy" in Brazil: naked, bloody state terror. Now, a group of cops in Belo Horizonte have claimed responsibility for the murder of three street children, ominously warning that "the blood ritual will not stop" until the police get higher pay!

With the government of Brazil making plans to eliminate job protection for public employees, the Military Police invasion of the SFPMVR meeting is part of an effort to destroy the combative Municipal Workers Union. In particular, it is an obvious attempt to intimidate militant unionists who are known as fighters in defense of the workers, for their opposition to the racist, strikebreaking cops and to any inclusion of the police in the union movement. This police provocation is a potentially lethal escalation of an orchestrated campaign of harassment and slander by the Popular Front government of Volta Redonda and the local press against union president Geraldo Ribeiro, his supporters on the *Municípios em Luta* slate in the leadership of the union and *Luta Metalúrgica* which is well known for its hard-fought defense of steel workers against the massive layoffs and for its working-class opposition to any political alliances with the capitalist exploiters.

Last August 10, in collaboration with the Partisan Defense Committee, *Luta Metalúrgica* initiated a 200-strong rally in Volta Redonda calling for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, the eloquent American black journalist and political prisoner who has been sentenced to death for his outspoken defense of the poor and the oppressed against the racist American rulers. This rally was co-sponsored by the Municipal Workers Union which is today under attack. Just as they took up the defense of Jamal, who is the victim of a monstrous police frame-up, we of the Partisan Defense Committee urgently take up the defense of these unionists against the sinister military and other police forces. Down with the dangerous police provocations against union militants in Volta Redonda! Police hands off the unions!

Very truly yours,  
Paul Cooperstein for the PDC

## Police Hands Off the Unions!

**Newspaper of Municipal Workers Union militants in Volta Redonda carried international statements protesting invasion of union meeting by Military Police. Front page featured article by U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.**



An urgent appeal for international labor solidarity was issued last month by *Luta Metalúrgica* (LM—Metal Workers Struggle) in the Brazilian industrial center of Volta Redonda, near Rio de Janeiro (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 642, 29 March). The call protested the sinister invasion of a March 13 meeting of the Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR) by the notorious Military Police.

There has been an outpouring of international support by trade unions, human rights organizations and individuals in response to LM's call. The leadership of the Municipal Workers, headed by SFPMVR president Geraldo Ribeiro, published a four-page supplement of its newspaper *Gestão Municipários em Luta* (reproduced above) containing a selection of protest statements from around the world. It featured the article by American death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, "Police: Part of, or Enemies of, Labor?" published in the last issue of *WV*.

In Brazil, the São Paulo Bank and Finance Workers Union raised the issue in its newspaper, *Folha Bancária*. Protests were made by the Partido de Trabalhadores por el Socialismo (PTS International Office—Brazil) and the Partido Operário Revolucionário (POR). The head of the history department at the University of São Paulo, Professor Raquel Glezer, also sent a statement.

Maria do Carmo Lopes Paes, a member of the executive board of the SFPMVR and founder of the National Movement of Street Children in Volta Redonda, stressed the deadly danger represented by the police:

"We know about the innumerable acts of violence carried out by the Municipal Guard, Military Police, Civil Police and paramilitary forces...against strike movements by public workers in particular and in general against the movement of the oppressed and exploited, which certainly includes the street children."

From the United States, Local 808 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in New York sent a solidarity statement. Leroy Collier, President of Branch 2200 of the National Association of Letter Carriers in Pasadena, wrote:

"The 13 March assault on the workers of SFPMVR is just one strike to cow those who would speak out for their rights. Worker unions belong to the workers; the military police and the military arm of the government have no place in these organizations!"

The Toronto local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers sent a protest, as did Local 391 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees in Vancouver.

In Britain, the Scottish Region of the Fire Brigades Union sent a message of support, as did Jimmy Nolan, Chairman of the Merseyside Port Shop Stewards Committee in Liverpool. Since last September, the Merseyside dockers have been engaged in a bitter fight

against union-busting.

From Japan came a declaration from the Minato Godo local, a member of the Osaka regional branch of the National Metal Machinery Workers Union. In February, Japanese police raided 41 offices and homes of members of this militant local. In South Africa, statements were received from the Turning Wheel Workers Union, and from the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), which wrote:

"The fact that the present ANC-led Government of National Unity in South Africa has also started bowing to the dictates of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, through a voluntary Structural Adjustment Programme which targets workers and their organisations, has further sensitised workers to police actions like those which the *Luta Metalúrgica* refers to as 'the breaking of strikes and the carrying out of brutal racist attacks, which are the everyday reality of capitalist "law and order" in Brazil.'"

From Australia, statements were received from the Central New South Wales and the Victoria state branches of the Maritime Union of Australia, as well as from the New South Wales Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance. From Mexico came messages from the SNTE (National Education Workers Union) Section 9 and the Costureras "19 de Septiembre" (Seamstresses Union), as well as from Mario Magallón Anaya of the Center for Latin American Studies at the National University and from Max Rojas Proenza, Director of the Leon Trotsky Museum.

Statements have also been received from American historian Howard Zinn and from Serge Klarsfeld, president of the Sons and Daughters of the Jewish Deportees of France. From Germany, statements were received from painter Willi Sitte, writer Erik Neutsch and Almuth Beck of the PDS fraction in the Thüringen state legislature. The Israeli defender of Palestinian rights, Holocaust survivor Israel Shahak, emphasized that "in the right-wing wave which now sweeps the world, the most important thing to do is to protect the independence of workers' unions."

And from Mexico City, Esteban Volkov, grandson of Leon Trotsky, wrote:

"I join my voice to the energetic protests against police and military interference in the legitimate trade-union assemblies and struggles of labor sectors in Volta Redonda, Brazil. This interference violates the most elementary workers' rights under any regime which claims to respect human rights, and belongs to the sinister pages of fascism. The working-class sector, creator of the wealth, must have the full right to carry out its union life without intimidation and repression by the state apparatus."

### Worldwide Solidarity with Volta Redonda Workers

The collage features several letters and statements from international unions and organizations. At the top left is a letter from WOSA (Workers Organisation for Socialist Action) dated April 1996. To its right is a letter from the SINDICATO NACIONAL DE TRABAJADORES DE LA EDUCACION, SECCION IX, dated 24 de febrero de 1996. Further right is a letter from the Turning Wheel Workers Union dated 10 April 1996. Below these are letters from THE MARITIME UNION OF AUSTRALIA (Central NSW Branch), NALC (National Association of Letter Carriers), MERSEYSIDE PORT SHOP STEWARDS COMMITTEE (dated April 5, 1996), and the FIRE BRIGADES UNION (Scottish Region, dated April 5, 1996). At the bottom right is a letter from Local 808 (Building Maintenance Service and Railroad Workers Union) dated April 11, 1996. On the far left, there is a letter in Japanese from the Toronto Local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (dated April 16, 1996).

After insisting for months that the human animal *cannot* get "mad cow disease," the government finally admitted what most people had long suspected. Tory health secretary Stephen Dorrell announced on 20 March that ten patients, with an average age of 27, had been identified as suffering from a new, aggressive form of the lethal Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease (CJD), and that the most likely explanation was consumption of meat products from cattle infected by Bovine Spongiform Encephalitis (BSE).

Yet still the government expected the population to believe that beef was safe and to carry on eating it. When sales plummeted in the supermarkets, Dorrell fumed, "It isn't the cows that are mad, it's the people."

The biggest concern for the Tory government, apart from its own

## WORKERS HAMMER

This article is reprinted from Workers Hammer No. 150, April-May 1996, published by the Spartacist League/Britain.

imminent demise, was the panic among City of London [financial district] fatcats and in the multi-million-pound agribusiness, whose vast profits were vanishing overnight. One billion pounds was wiped off the value of shares in the food and agriculture business, while the meat trade went through the floor. McDonald's, followed by other fast food outlets, stopped selling burgers until they could import the meat. The European Union slapped a blanket ban on British beef to protect its markets, incensing much of the tabloid press and the xenophobic "Euro-sceptics" who howled that poor Britain was being "humiliated" by Europe.

The government's role in the BSE scandal amounts to sheer criminal neglect of public health, in the interest of naked capitalist greed. Even the staid *British Medical Journal* referred to the government's policy as "playing Russian roulette with no information on the odds." The whole sordid affair perfectly symbolises rotting capitalism, and not just British, witness the HIV-tainted blood transfusion scandals internationally.

Enfeebled economically, the bourgeoisie is reckless, vindictive and often downright crazy. The ethos is "take the money and run"; therefore, much of the basic infrastructure is being destroyed or sold off and the social fabric of society vandalised. Medical science has always been bound and constrained by class society, but it is being increasingly perverted by a system in an advanced stage of decay.

The City of London, based on bloated profits from utterly parasitic financial dealing, has been fattened as the "golden

# Mad Cows and Capitalist Pigs



D. Jackson

Cattle infected with "mad cow disease" were killed and burned in Cornwall, 1988.

goose" of the very rich. The rest of the population can go to hell...and if that means being poisoned by infected food, so be it. Meanwhile, Tony Blair's Labour Party insists that they can serve the City just as well as the Tories.

We recall the Chartist [1840s revolutionary workers movement] slogan "Perish the privileged orders!" It will take a socialist revolution, which sweeps away the rotting edifice of capitalism, to lay the basis for a society in which everyone can have a job, come home to decent housing, eat food which has not been wilfully contaminated, and get good medical treatment when they are ill.

### BSE and Public "Health"

The existence of BSE has been known for ten years, yet the government allowed it to flourish in cattle with only minimal efforts to eradicate it. Very little is known (and much is disputed) about the connection between BSE in cattle and CJD in humans, but there is a consistency in the pathology of both diseases, which are thought to be caused by an altered protein or "prion." Unlike diseases caused by bacteria and viruses, which trigger a response by the victim's immune system, spongiform encephalopathies remain undetected by the immune system. The end result of CJD is insanity and certain, horrible death. The disease has a long incubation period and until recently no test was available which could diagnose it while the patient was alive. *Even the most basic public health hygiene measures would require massive funding for research and, at least, a serious attempt to stop feeding BSE-infected meat to the population!*

A recent World Health Organisation conference on BSE concluded that "there is 'minimal' risk of 'mad cow disease' being passed to humans—as long as strict abattoir [slaughterhouse] procedures are followed" (*Independent*, 4 April). This is small consolation since abattoirs in Britain are a *known* source of infection, a direct result of Thatcherite "free market" policies. BSE is thought to have originated from sheep infected by scrapie [virus disease], whose carcasses were made into meal and fed to cows. Despite warnings dating back to 1980, the government permitted cost-cutting changes where carcasses are processed at scandalously low temperatures, 100 degrees Celsius, which is insufficient even to kill common bacteria. Enforcement of hygiene regulations is negligible; gov-

ernment instructions (issued in 1988) to remove brains and spinal cords from carcasses are hardly enforced at all and the Meat Hygiene Service has been decimated by redundancies [layoffs].

The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (which has rightly been dubbed the "MAFFia") has routinely ignored EU [European Union—formerly Common Market] rules aimed at preventing the spread of BSE and other animal diseases to the rest of Europe. Scientific researchers who warned of the dangers of BSE were trashed and discredited by government officials. Richard Lacey, a prominent microbiologist who has warned for years that BSE represents a danger to humans, was vilified by MAFF as "politically suspect." Harash Narang, an internationally renowned expert on encephalopathies, was denied research funding by MAFF while working on a same day test for BSE in live cattle (current MAFF tests take several weeks, by which time the meat has entered the food supply).

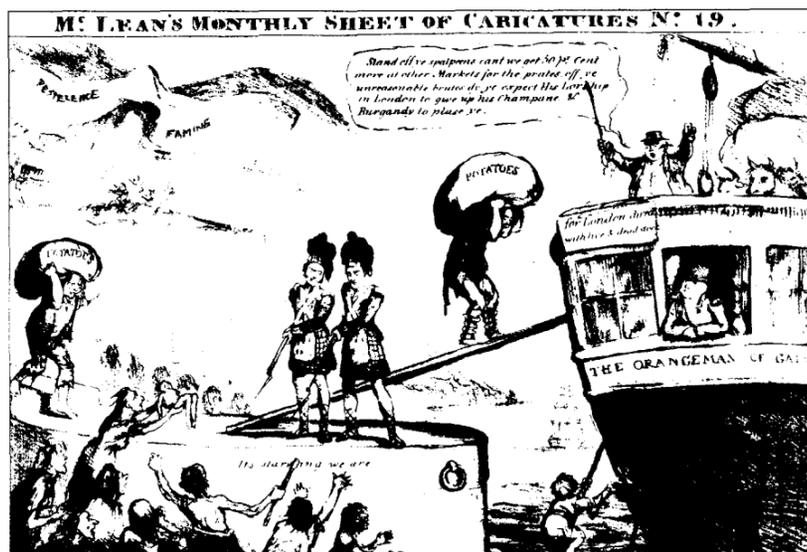
Narang conducted random tests late last year and found that nearly one in three cattle going into the human food supply was infected with BSE. MAFF denied him further funding and he was subjected to a terror campaign. According to a *Guardian* (23 March) report, "His car tyres were slashed five times, his brakes tampered with and his Newcastle flat broken into and research papers messed up."

### Capitalism, Disease and Class Privilege

The BSE scandal goes to the rapacious heart of historical and current British capitalism. The limited and uneven character of the British bourgeois-democratic revolution left intact the monarchy, House of Lords and established churches. This flowed in large part from the close ties between the merchants and bankers of the City and the landed gentry who were integrated into the rising British bourgeoisie. Today more than 50 per cent of Britain's land is owned by 1 per cent of the population. The top ten individual landowners include the Prince of Wales and seven hereditary members of the House of Lords. Six of these, each with over 100,000 acres, are Scottish aristocrats, the beneficiaries of the brutal Highland Clearances in the early 19th century.

The Corn Laws of 1815, which imposed high bread prices, were intended to protect the landlord classes. They were only repealed in 1846 when the industrialists' desire for cheaper food and lower wages was supplemented by ruling class fear of the revolutionary working-class Chartist movement. The Irish potato famine of the late 1840s was not a "natural disaster" but the direct result of British rule, which ensured that profitable food exports (like grain) continued even while hundreds of thousands died of starvation and disease and millions were forced to emigrate. Writing on the famine, Irish revolutionary James Connolly recalled the popular saying "Providence sent the potato blight; but England made the famine," adding: "England made the famine by a rigid application of the economic principles that lie at the base of capitalist society" (*Labour in Irish History*, 1910).

In *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, published in 1845, Engels observed that "The workers get what is too bad for the property-holding class." Meat which workers could afford to buy was "taken from old, often diseased, cattle, or such as have died a natural death" and "very often past using." He added: "Dealers and manufacturers adulterate all kinds of provisions in an atrocious manner, and without the slightest regard to the health of the consumers." This aptly describes the conditions which, 150 years on, led to the BSE scandal; another illustration of the real meaning



Glin Castle, County Limerick



Der Spiegel

British imperialism consigned hundreds of thousands of Irish to death by starvation during 1840s potato famine. Cartoon depicts potatoes being exported from Ireland to England at the time. Right: Eighteenth-century illustration glorifies British beef.

of the Tories' "Victorian values."

The handling of the beef scandal reeks of the same blatant class prejudice. It was thought for some time that the more expensive cuts—steak and the "Roast Beef of Old England"—were safe, but that low-grade meat was not. BSE is more prevalent in older cattle, especially dairy herds which, when they are too old to produce milk, are sold off for production of mince, sausages and "processed meat." Beef herds were considered safer, providing better quality meat because they are mainly grass-fed and are killed younger.

But the populace was kept in the dark. The *Economist* (30 March) belatedly admitted what many had thought all along: "Consumers are worried whether beef is safe to eat. Steak almost certainly is.... The danger lies in eating pies, burgers and sausages which might have bits of infectious brain or spinal cord in them." The mother of 29-year-old Anna Pearson, who died from CJD, said: "Anna lived in halls of residence as a student in London and you can imagine the sort of food students eat—burgers from cheap places, from the rubbish end of the food market" (*Guardian*, 30 March). When the French masses demanded bread, Marie Antoinette infamously suggested, "Let them eat cake." The attitude of the British government today is not so much "let them eat beef" but "let them eat offal!"

### A Mad System in a Mad World Order

The politics of the "free market," now openly embraced by Labour, mean savage cuts and the grinding down of social services, pensions, health care and education. But "laissez-faire" does not apply to wealthy farmers, who will get to keep their Range Rovers, while farm labourers and meat processing workers lose their jobs.

As in other advanced capitalist countries, agribusiness is coddled and protected, with the rich landowners valued as a conservative bulwark and electoral vote bank. Often farmers are paid not to produce food, while hundreds of millions go hungry and starve to death in Africa, parts of Asia and Latin America. The government guarantees a minimum price for beef and the whole European Union is protected by tariffs and quotas to keep out cheaper agricultural goods like New Zealand butter, Argentine beef and Algerian wine. Imperialist tea marketing houses make super-profits while

tea pluckers in Sri Lanka, India and Kenya toil in horrendous conditions on the plantations.

The "New World Order" was proclaimed by U.S. imperialism as a direct result of the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the former USSR—a colossal defeat for the world proletariat. In Britain, as elsewhere, the capitalist rulers are on the offensive and no longer feel it necessary to fend off the "threat of Communism" by means of reforms, health services and welfare provision, which were designed to buy off working-class resistance. Savage attacks on the unions and social programmes, pioneered by Thatcher, have ripped through the living conditions and basic rights of the working class.

With the end of the second Cold War, the post-World War II anti-Soviet alliance has come unglued, laying bare the permanent rivalry between the major

bosses were furious about continental "interference." Anyone in this country lucky enough to have a job is expected to work around 60 hours, then go home to a dinner of infected meat!

A few years ago the British government was in the forefront of opposing EU compensation to German farmers hit by swine fever among pigs. Now Major and agriculture minister Douglas Hogg go hat-in-hand to the EU, whom they earlier blamed for causing panic over BSE, to beg for the cash to kill off some cattle (which the government still insists are safe!). Their real aim is to get the export ban lifted and thus to restore "confidence" (read profitability) in British beef. While it is necessary to isolate the BSE-infected meat, and understandable that consumers—German, French and British alike—are not overly anxious to eat it, all capitalist governments operate in the pursuit of profit. Protectionist calls



Farmers hit by beef crisis protest in Wales.

Huw Evans Picture Agency

imperialist powers—the U.S., Germany and Japan. Britain is very much a second-rate power and the bourgeoisie is deeply divided, chafing against German domination in Europe while anxious to maintain the "special relationship" between the City of London and Wall Street. In order to compete in the "New World Order," the rate of exploitation for British workers has been jacked up to the point where they now work the longest hours in Europe. When the European Court ruled that Britain must enforce a 48-hour work week limit, the

to "buy British" (or French or German) will be used in the service of trade wars. Rather than getting caught up in inter-imperialist rivalries through supporting reactionary protectionist demands, the working class must fight against their own capitalist rulers as part of the struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe.

The wreckage of the National Health Service is just one measure of the decrepit state of British capitalism. Blair's Labour Party will do nothing to redress the social crimes of the Tories

and is committed to slashing public spending and keeping the trade unions in shackles. At the beginning of the beef scandal, Blair showed his loyalty to British beef (i.e., the beef market) by fatuously declaring, "I will not stop eating beef." It would be absurd to think that a Labour government would attempt to reinstitute the kind of services and regulations on health, safety and hygiene which capitalist governments once provided.

Today diseases like tuberculosis—truly a disease of poverty—which were once presumed to be a disease of the past in Britain and elsewhere, are back with a vengeance, and are being allowed to reach epidemic proportions among the world's poor. The explosive spread of preventable diseases such as TB in the "New World Disorder" only underlines the need for socialist revolution, which will lay the basis for a society where all the necessary resources can be allocated to conquering diseases, old and new.

Medical science is far from having all the answers to BSE or AIDS for example, but it has made it possible to control many diseases which were scourges in the past. Quality health care for all is within the bounds of material possibility, but not under capitalism. At the level of ideas, the need of the system's apologists to justify the exploitation and brutal oppression of the masses leaves increasingly little room for a rational approach to anything, including science and medicine. In conditions of social decay, bigotry, superstition and fear are allowed to flourish. Research on AIDS has been deliberately underfunded, in line with the prejudices of reactionary capitalist governments that it's a "disease of gays, blacks, drug pushers, etc."

The ruling class which suppressed all evidence about BSE is interested in the discoveries of science only from the standpoint of capitalist profit. In the long-gone days of capitalism's progressive era, scientific advancements were the crowning achievement of an Enlightenment fighting against religious superstition. It will take worldwide planning based on scientific knowledge to establish *free, quality health care for all*, in a society where the wealth of resources on the planet are harnessed in the service of the people, not profit. When workers rule the world, nobody will starve, the only limits on human health will be scientific, and these will be constantly enlarged by thoughtful, energetic research. ■

## Japan...

(continued from page 6)

had participated in struggles against the Anti-Subversive Activities Law. Leftist organizations and Chosen Soren have been persecuted under this law; 34 people have been arrested and three have been convicted.

This law serves the same purpose as the Maintenance of the Public Order Act of 1925 (to which the death penalty was added in 1928), enacted to suppress class struggle spurred by the 1917 Russian Revolution. This revolution provided inspiration to laborers and the oppressed, having a tremendous impact on workers' struggles and shocking the bourgeoisie worldwide. In Asia in 1919, movements seeking national independence and democracy were launched on March 1 in Korea and on May 4 in China.

The 1949 victory of the Chinese Revolution and the outbreak of the Korean War also terrified the imperialists. In Japan, the postwar strike wave culminated in a pre-revolutionary situation on the eve of a general strike called for 1 February 1947, which was sold out and called off by the Communist Party. Despite this betrayal and the reactionary policies of the "people's front" governments of Katayama and Ashida, strikes continued across the country. The "red purge," which started in 1950, was aimed at smashing this militancy and

destroying the influence of the CP and militants in the trade-union movement.

### For a Workers Republic in Japan!

As in the prewar period, amid increased inter-imperialist rivalry Japanese imperialism is striving to remilitarize both abroad and at home. The use of the Anti-Subversive Activities Law, part of an array of repressive legislation which the capitalist state has at its disposal, is aimed at strengthening the state's powers.

We look to the working class, the only class that has the social power to overthrow these arrogant feudalistic capitalist overlords. What is needed is a revolutionary leadership that understands that the interests of the proletariat are directly counterposed to the interests of the bosses. The existing misleaders of the working class accept the framework of capitalism and the lie that workers and their exploiters share a common "national interest," expressed so succinctly in Rengo union federation chairman Ashida's disgusting statement supporting the state's use of the Anti-Subversive Activities Law. They bow before the *zaibatsu* chiefs and refuse to defend what gains have been won, much less fight for more. They tell workers that their enemies are not the bosses, but workers in other countries. They are a roadblock which must be swept away by hard class struggle, led by a revolu-

tionary leadership which is willing to challenge the system itself and welcomes as comrades in battle "foreign" workers here and working people in all lands.

The Spartacist Group Japan, together with our comrades around the world organized as the International Communist League, fights to restore to the working class its consciousness—eroded by decades of Stalinist and social-democratic reformism and lies—of its historic interests and role: to put an end once and for all to capitalist exploitation and oppression, and construct a new, socialist, international society of freedom, material plenty and peace. We fight for class-struggle unions which defend the most vulnerable sectors of the proletariat—minority workers, women, youth—as the only means to create a workers movement which is united and strong enough to fight for its members and win some victories. This means some hard class struggles which will point toward the necessity for the working class to seize state power.

To really oppose the rulers' drive toward a militarized society, working people and youth who rightly hate and fear war must understand that imperialist capitalism by its very nature is driven to undertake new overseas adventures, and that the "trade wars" of today are the prelude to shooting wars tomorrow. This system offers us a "future" of economic contraction and unemployment,

intensified racism and chauvinism, repression and war. In order to sweep away this capitalist system and the residues of feudalism that still exist—such as discrimination against *burakumin* (descendants of feudal-era outcasts) and oppression of women, reinforced by the emperor system—and to smash racist chauvinism against immigrant workers and Koreans, a revolutionary movement, a Leninist vanguard party, must be built to link together all forms of resistance to immiseration and oppression, in order to open the road to a real future for ourselves and our children. Join us in this fight. ■

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Chambers St. near Church St.)  
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

# Hands Off Student Protesters! Victory to Yale Strikers!

NEW HAVEN—Thirty-one members of the Student Labor Action Coalition at Yale face charges stemming from April 8 arrests for their sit-in in solidarity with Local 35 of the Hotel and Res-

taurant Employees Union (H.E.R.E.). The strike of 1,100 dining hall and maintenance workers began March 27, continuing a struggle that began in February when clerical workers in sister

Local 34 walked out.

The union has shut down the dining halls to fight Yale's plans for unlimited subcontracting, which would gut the union and guarantee plummeting wages. This year, as in years past, the fight of Yale's unions has been a bellwether for campus workers' struggles nationwide. The students were targeted and rounded up solely based on their elementary stand in support of the union against the greedy corporate bosses who run Yale. We demand: Drop all charges!

As a New York Spartacus Youth Club statement issued April 19 said:

"This outrageous action is an attack on ALL supporters of the striking maintenance workers; an injury to one is an injury to all! The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to mobilize and ally students with the power of the organized labor movement. We fight for open admissions and free tuition. We say, 'Picket lines mean don't cross!' Students must boycott their classes and shut down the campus!..."

"Campus-wide labor action to shut down the entire university, supported by the students and professors would have these Ivy League robber barons shaking in their Brooks Brothers suits!"

Mobilizing labor throughout the region could pave the way to victory. Barnard College clerical workers in

New York City, organized in UAW Local 2110, who are in a standoff in negotiations, joined forces with Yale workers in a March picket line outside the Yale Club. The Barnard workers strike continues to draw broad support. A rally of Yale workers on April 3 included New England unionists—SEIU Local 1199, CWA telecommunications workers, UAW Region 9, H.E.R.E. Local 217 and others. Richard Trumka, AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, pointed out that Yale has hired the same rent-a-thug scabberding outfit that went after striking miners in West Virginia three years ago. The Black Student Alliance at Yale announced its support for Local 35, stating in part: "We believe that Yale's relationship with its labor unions is reflective of its lack of serious commitment to improving the socioeconomic conditions of New Haven, particularly those faced by people of color."

Spartacus Youth Club members attending the April 3 rally carried signs calling for "Victory to the Yale Strikers! One Out, All Out!" and "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!" We call for united support action by students, teachers and staff to build mass pickets that *nobody* crosses. Shut down Yale!



April 3 strike support rally at Yale.

Young Spartacus

## Transit...

(continued from page 5)

to kneel before the Democrats, some TWU militants had a different perspective, carrying signs reading: "Take the Wealth Out of the Bosses' Hands! Down With the Downsize!" and "Break with the Democrats and Republicans! Build a Workers Party!" Workers need their own political party, one that champions the cause of blacks, women, immigrants and all the oppressed as part of the fight for a workers government that will expropriate the capitalists and organize production for need, not for profit.

### For Free Mass Transit! For Union Control of Safety!

A serious strike by transit workers could galvanize widespread support among the city's hard-pressed population. But that means having a strategy to win and a leadership to implement it. The TWU should launch a campaign to demand *free mass transit*: Rip out the turnstiles! Token booth clerks should be retrained for other jobs in union-run schools at full pay.

As budget cuts deepen, transport safety has gone to hell. Yet the TA's guaranteed response to every accident, from a cleaner slipping on a greasy floor to a deadly

train collision, is to blame the workers and haul them off for drug and alcohol tests. Management has also used drug testing to victimize and witchhunt elected union officers, such as in the Track Division. A few months ago, two bus drivers were fired after not being able to give large enough urine samples! Hall & Co. actually helped the TA impose drug and alcohol testing, and New Directions' advice is: "Drink lots of water!" We say: Down with the drug/alcohol testing witchhunt! For elected union safety committees empowered to shut down unsafe work on the spot!

The TA uses bigotry of every stripe to divide the workforce and weaken union power. The TA has never even installed separate locker rooms and bathrooms for women workers in many facilities! Meanwhile, the system of "hardship picks"—allowing women and single parents, as well as union officers, to bypass the seniority rules in choosing jobs—undermines seniority, fostering favoritism and bureaucratic abuse. To deal with the many-sided oppression of women workers, what's needed is a union fight for *free 24-hour childcare* and for paid maternity/paternity leave.

The seniority system is also threatened by the hiring of "provisional" workers, who are first on the chopping block and most vulnerable to company harassment and victimization. Moreover, the 1994

contract (which the membership still hasn't seen) locks these workers into a substandard wage scale. This "two tier" setup is a threat to *all* transit workers. As one of the signs carried by militants on March 20 demanded: "Make All Provisionals Permanent!" The TWU should fight for full pay and full system-wide seniority from day one on the job—the current title and departmental seniority setup works to discourage advancement by less-skilled and lower-seniority workers. To combat discrimination, what's needed is a union hiring hall and union-run recruitment and training programs—paid for out of the TA's coffers—to assist minorities, women and youth to get the jobs and skills that they've been barred from systematically. This has to be part of a broader fight for *jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay*. For full, automatic cost-of-living increases!

Clinton, Dole and the rest of the union-hating, capitalist budget ax-wielders despise New York City because of its integrated working-class population, which is heavily black, Hispanic and immigrant. Union power and the

struggle against racial oppression go hand in hand—that is the understanding that the Labor Black League (LBL), affiliated to the Spartacist League, fights for. When a racist cop vendetta sent transit worker James Frazier to prison last year after the police shot out his left eye, the LBL joined with TWU militants to mobilize for his defense.

Mobilizing labor/black power to defend the interests of working people and minorities requires, first and foremost, a political fight within the unions to sweep out the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who sacrifice jobs, wages and union rights for the good of the bosses' "national interest"—i.e., profits. A class-struggle leadership must be forged in the fight to mobilize the working class at the head of all the oppressed, to beat back the racist union-busters on the road to sweeping away the whole capitalist system of homelessness, misery and cop terror. To win these battles, small and large, workers need their own revolutionary party. The Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues are dedicated to building this party and winning this fight. ■

Handschuh/NY Daily News



Fatal June 1995 subway crash on Williamsburg Bridge caused by faulty brakes and signals. Killer budget cuts threaten workers and riders.

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# Democrats...

(continued from page 12)

and Democrats in." Johnson's Labor Council last year made some noises about a "labor party," but this is a cheap ploy to get the Democrats to pay a little more attention to the AFL-CIO bureaucrats. And now it is election year. As it was, the April 14 rally was notable for the minor presence of labor contingents. On the one hand, local union bureaucrats did not want to associate themselves too closely with abortion rights or affirmative action. On the other hand, the bourgeois feminists of NOW are in no way identified with the cause of labor against capital. Rank-and-file workers in the Bay Area saw little reason to come out and join with the yuppie cheerleaders for "Bill and Hillary."

In a gross outrage, the haughty bourgeois feminist NOW leaders physically barred from the platform at the assembly point a Latina woman with AIDS. Jenny Guembes asked to speak with the backing of ACT UP, a militant organization fighting on behalf of people with AIDS. Patricia Ireland snarled afterward: "We have more than met our commitment and we are not going to give in to intimidation tactics." NOW gooned this woman and her toddler away from the platform as she pleaded for "just 30 seconds!"

## Left Cheerleaders for "Bill and Hillary"

This was no local event. A list of groups endorsing the SF demonstration, many of them national in character, took up 14 single-spaced pages and ranged from the National Black Police Association to Catholics for Free Choice. Also signing on the dotted line to *formally endorse* this Clinton rally were the Committees of Correspondence and Democratic Socialists of America, the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Freedom Socialist Party/Radical Women, International Socialist Organization, Socialist Action, Solidarity, Workers World, even the "it's right to rebel" Refuse & Resist and the Revolutionary Communist Party's Revolution Books.

Not formally endorsing but enthusiastically building and participating were

the pseudo-Trotskyist centrists of the Revolutionary Workers League and Workers Voice. Workers Voice in their leaflet announced they were "proud" to march as part of an immigrants rights contingent—in a march dedicated to re-electing the man who militarized the border, *resulting directly in the beatings and death of Latino immigrants!*

Coming on the heels of the notorious videotaped beatings of Mexican immigrants by sheriff's deputies in Riverside County, and the killing of eight immigrants hounded to their death by their *migra* pursuers, this rally was particularly grotesque. At an April 5 demonstration in San Francisco protesting the Riverside beatings, a Spartacus Youth Club speaker told the truth:

"It was Bill Clinton who doubled the Border Patrol since taking office, and, with the assistance of Janet Reno, the butcher of Waco, they've sent the National Guard to the border.... It could not be more clear that the Democratic Party is the party of war and racism. You've been hearing the so-called 'socialists' tell you to go to the demonstration to 'fight the right' on April 14, which would just channel the real anger that exists in this society back into votes for the Democrats.... Go to the demo and you'll see what I'm saying is right—it's just a pep rally to get Clinton re-elected!"

This brought hostility from the fake lefts, as the Revolutionary Workers League defended April 14, but nods and applause from many Latino immigrants.

Despite its liberal character, the April 14 march attracted a number of youth who have a subjective desire to fight against racism and sexual oppression, and who were receptive to our exposure of the Democrats and their racist immigration policies. As a result our salesmen sold over 400 copies of *Workers Vanguard* and other Spartacist literature. A number expressed interest in further discussion and work with the Spartacus Youth Club in San Francisco. (For information about an upcoming class on basic Marxism and other events, call 415-777-9367.)

One typical leaflet published before the march by the RWL's little family of front groups followed face-saving snipes at the Democrats with the call: "ALL OUT TO THE APRIL 14 'FIGHT THE RIGHT' MARCH!" Another such leaflet

proclaimed that "NOW and the other liberal organizations," by calling the April 14 march, "give the green light" for "independent militant action." With this appeal for "militancy," the RWL sought to mobilize anti-racist youth for a Clinton election rally. This does a disservice to any youth it brought, while helping NOW pass off as good coin its use of the affirmative action issue to mobilize for the Democrats.

The efforts by NOW, the labor bureaucracy and pseudo-socialists to pass off the Democrats as a "lesser evil" are intended to obscure the fact that the fundamental division in capitalist society is between the working class, which must sell its labor power to the capitalists to survive, and the filthy rich capitalist class that exploits the worker for profit. The interests of these two main classes are *irreconcilable*. A party that represents the interests of the capitalist rulers cannot at the same time express the counterposed needs of those whom they exploit and oppress. The Democrats and Republicans are two wings of the "property party" of U.S. capitalism: they differ only by their appeal to different constituencies.

The alliance of the labor bureaucrats, black misleaders and reformists with the Democratic Party is the historic American form of the *popular front*. This originated in the mid-1930s when the Stalinist Communist Party—then the dominant organization of the American left, with a substantial following in the labor movement and black communities—supported Franklin D. Roosevelt under the slogan "defeat the right." While devoting its considerable resources to re-electing FDR, the CP held back from formally endorsing the Democratic Party and even ran its own presidential candidate as a left cover.

Today, especially with the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the remnants of the reformist left in this country have been reduced to a fringe of the Democratic Party and scarcely even pay lip service to the political independence of the working class. By striving to subordinate all struggle politically to the racist, capitalist Democrats, they stand *directly counterposed* to any serious struggle against capitalist

oppression.

There is a lot of anger and fear in this country as living standards are being ground down while the prison population has tripled, with a majority being black and Hispanic. Meanwhile racist killer cops are given a blank check to terrorize blacks, Latinos and the poor by Democratic as well as Republican mayors of the big cities (such as SF Teamster Mark Garcia, killed by cops in the Mission District earlier this month). Full social equality for blacks; decent free public education and quality health care for all; full citizenship rights for all immigrants; free abortion on demand—these pressing needs can only be addressed by fighting to sweep away the whole rotten system of production for profit.

The power to defeat and overthrow the racist capitalist rulers lies with the integrated working class. During the Los Angeles uprising over the racist verdict freeing the cops who beat Rodney King, L.A.'s powerful integrated unions could have shut down the city and its port and transformed that outburst of angry outrage by the dispossessed into a direct challenge to capitalist rule. The pro-Democratic Party union misleaders made sure this didn't happen.

It was the diversion of the fight against Proposition 187 into channels acceptable to the bourgeoisie through the medium of the Democratic Party and labor traitors which paved the way for the racist attacks on immigrants and affirmative action. And now anger over the Riverside County beatings and the anti-affirmative-action ballot initiative is being diverted (with help from self-proclaimed "socialists"! once again into an electoral campaign for the Democrats.

When Willie Brown, Jesse Jackson and Patricia Ireland led the march off, the fake lefts loyally trooped after; only the Spartacist League, and (to their credit) a group of ACT UP supporters, refused to join the crawl for Clinton. The Spartacist League banner raised over our literature table at the April 14 assembly point declared forthrightly: "Break with the Democrats and Republicans! Unchain Labor/Black Power! For a Workers Party to Fight for a Socialist Revolution!" If you want to build a party which can lead that revolution to victory, join us! ■

# Massacre...

(continued from page 12)

landowners, while an estimated 12 million peasants own no land at all. The minister of agriculture (who resigned the day after the massacre) is a member of a rightist landowners party, PPB. The big *fazendeiros* (estate owners) have traditionally maintained private armies of thugs to terrorize the rural population. In recent years, this dirty work has fallen increasingly to the Military Police and army, who also sow terror in the huge *favelas* (shantytowns) surrounding the major cities. The cold-blooded cop murders of Brazilian street children in Candelária and Vigário Geral have become infamous worldwide. As the peasant struggle for land has increased, the numbers killed by the "forces of order" in the rural areas have escalated. Last August, the country was shaken by the MP/army massacre of peasants in the Amazonian state of Rondônia, in which eleven were officially reported dead.

The MST occupied a huge estate in the municipality of Curionópolis in the southern part of Pará in February, demanding title to the unused lands. Officials of the agrarian reform agency had promised that expropriation proceedings would begin by April 17. When nothing happened, the peasants occupied the nearby highway in protest. After negotiations in which the peasants agreed to reopen the highway, state officials promised to meet with them and to send transportation. Instead, the MPs were dispatched. The state governor, a member of Brazilian president Fernando

Henrique Cardoso's "social-democratic" bourgeois party, claimed the peasants were armed and met the police with violence. But not a single MP was killed, or even reported injured, nor a single weapon seized from the peasants. This was summary execution, pure and simple.

A coroner in the town of Curionópolis reported that at least ten of the 19 bodies examined were shot in the head or the neck; several faces were completely destroyed, indicating large-calibre bullets; many had powder burns, indicating they were shot at pointblank range. Another seven victims were killed with their own tools, hoes and knives. An eyewitness reported that the leader of the peasants, Oziel Pereira, was dragged off by the MPs, who savagely beat him. Then, while one lifted him by the hair, another shot him in the head (*Estado de São Paulo*, 19 April). As the demonstrators fled, the police chased them into the brush where several of the women and children were killed.

Official Brazil is expressing "shock." President Cardoso declared that the massacre was "unacceptable." Several leading newspapers published headlines with the single word "*Vergonha*" (shame). But the feigned "shame" of this rapacious bourgeoisie, which lives off the superprofits squeezed from the desperately impoverished working people, is cynical hypocrisy, concerned only to "restore confidence" in the country and ensure the flow of foreign investment. The tiny, corruption-riddled Brazilian bourgeoisie can dominate this nation of 160 million only through such bloody terror. For more than 20 years, from 1964 to 1985, they did so through an open military

dictatorship. Today they rule through a pseudo-"democracy" implementing brutal "neo-liberal" economic "reforms" aimed at devastating the working class and destroying its power to resist.

But despite the brutal military and police repression, the struggle of the landless rural peasants and agricultural workers is spreading. So far in 1996, the MST has invaded 168 estates, setting up camps including almost 40,000 peasants. Several are under immediate threat of military/police attack. One of those is the camp of more than 1,000 people in the state of Rondônia named after Zumbi dos Palmares, the "black Spartacus" of Brazil, legendary leader of a "republic" of escaped slaves who was killed by the colonial army 300 years ago last November. Numerous MST militants have been jailed in recent months, including Diolinda Alves de Souza, one of the leaders of a land occupation in the state of São Paulo, who became the symbol of International Women's Day in Brazil. (As a result of mass protests, she was released after a month and a half in prison.)

The fight against murderous police and army terror must be led by the working class, the force with the social power to sweep away the killing machine of the bourgeois state. But the leadership of the Brazilian Workers Party (PT) of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, and of the closely allied CUT labor federation, have systematically subordinated the workers to the state of their exploiters and oppressors. In 1989 and again in 1994, Lula ran for president at the head of a PT-led popular front, the Frente Brasil Popular, binding the masses to a treacherous "alliance" with minor bour-

geois and petty-bourgeois parties. Following the massacre at Eldorado dos Carajás, PT leader José Dirceu and CUT leader Vicente Paulo da Silva rushed to the area to participate in a funeral march, while calling for a congressional "investigation."

What's needed instead is to *mobilize the powerful organized working class in mass protests and strike action in defense of the peasants and all other victims of police/army attack*. The misery of the landless rural workers will not be eliminated by a mythical agrarian reform but through *agrarian revolution*, with the proletariat leading the exploited peasantry against the landowners, capitalists and their state. Workers revolution in Brazil, the powerhouse of South America, would send shock waves throughout the hemisphere and the world. But it would be immediately besieged by U.S. imperialism, which sponsored the 1964 coup and has maintained a "special relationship" with the Brazilian military for decades. What is needed is an internationalist program of spreading proletarian revolution throughout Latin America and into the imperialist heartland of the United States.

American workers have a special responsibility to protest the atrocities of the murderous governments and armies of U.S. imperialism's neocolonies. We join with our Brazilian fraternal comrades of LM/LQB in fighting to build Bolshevik workers parties, as part of the struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, to lead the socialist revolution which will expropriate the bourgeoisie and open the road to social emancipation and a decent life for all the oppressed. ■

# WORKERS VANGUARD

## “Fight the Right”?

# Don't Crawl for Clinton! Fight for a Workers Party!

SAN FRANCISCO—The April 14 “Fight the Right” march and rally in San Francisco, organized by the National Organization for Women (NOW) ostensibly to defend affirmative action, was in fact a blatant electoralist rally to get out the vote for Clinton and the Democrats in November. Equally striking was the fact that this flag-waving Democratic Party mobilization was shamelessly endorsed and actively supported by virtually every opportunist left organization in the country. And this is not a new, sudden and unexpected development. Quite the contrary.

With the end of the Vietnam War, in the late 1970s the whole spectrum of the reformist left lined up behind Democratic president Jimmy Carter's “human rights crusade” which marked the beginning of Cold War II against the Soviet Union. In 1992, various reformists ended up supporting Bill Clinton—rather shamefacedly—even though he was on the right wing of the Democratic Party and went out of his way to distance himself from the unions and humiliate black leaders.

The victory of the Republican right, led by Newt Gingrich, in the 1994 Congressional elections sowed panic in the left as well as the rad-lib milieu, black Democratic officials and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Hence the San Francisco “March for Bill and Hillary” saw open and unabashed support by the self-styled “socialists” and “communists” to

## S.F. Pep Rally for the Democrats



San Francisco, April 14: NOW and reformist leftists in “March for Bill and Hillary.”

the racist, immigrant-bashing, capitalist Democratic Party.

Originally planning the march for Washington, D.C., NOW shifted its efforts to California to capitalize on opposition to the grotesquely misnamed, racist, anti-affirmative-action “California Civil Rights Initiative” (CCRI), and “because of California's importance in the presidential election” (*San Francisco Examiner*, 8 March). NOW's strategy

was to make affirmative action a feminist issue (downplaying racial discrimination) and on that basis to organize young women statewide to become new voters for the Democrats.

A San Francisco “activists” meeting in February tried to give the mobilization efforts a “rainbow coalition” veneer by featuring Jesse Jackson. But a wide spectrum of black opinion dislikes NOW because of the outrageous remarks of

NOW L.A. chapter head Tammy Bruce after the trial of O.J. Simpson; namely, that he should have been jailed for spousal abuse, thus invoking the historic racist image of black men as a menace to white women. Even though NOW president Patricia Ireland criticized Bruce's remarks, very few blacks (or other minorities) turned out, and the march was very white, very liberal and very young.

April 14 was organized by and for the Democratic Party, from the top down, from beginning to end. Prominent at the assembly point in the yuppie Marina district enclave was the Hillary Rodham Clinton Fan Club, defending this wealthy lawyer's honor as First Lady while the band played “My Country 'tis of Thee.” San Francisco's black Democratic mayor Willie Brown organized the city's Muni transit system to bus participants directly to the rally site. Brown set the tone from the podium: “This march must take us continuously on the trip through November 5, 1996, when we will retire Bob Dole.” He was followed by no less than five members of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Jesse Jackson, the leading black shill for the racist Democrats, intoned: “Down with Dole! Up with Clinton!... Keep hope alive!”

San Francisco Labor Council head Walter Johnson echoed Brown's pitch to be “out on the playing field” in November, “moving Republicans out  
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# Peasants Massacred in Brazil

On Thursday, April 17 one of the worst massacres in recent Brazilian history took place near the town of Eldorado dos Carajás in the Amazonian state of Pará. As some 1,500 landless peasants waited by the roadside to be picked up by buses which had been promised to take them to a meeting with the agrarian reform institute, a corps of 200 Military Police arrived. The MPs immediately opened fire with rifles and machine guns. Official sources report 23 peasants killed and 45 injured, many seriously, but organizers of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST) put the number of dead at 30 or more. A priest who arrived on the scene estimates the death toll could be double that. Witnesses reported seeing women and children killed, but their bodies were not among those transferred to a morgue. A TV reporter's videotape of the killing was confiscated. According to the Mexico

City daily *La Jornada* (21 April), some 200 peasants have disappeared, including 15 children.

*International protests are urgently needed to denounce this mass assassination!* In this issue (see page 7), we report on a campaign of international labor solidarity with the Municipal Workers Union in the Brazilian steel city of Volta Redonda, whose union meeting was invaded by Military Police carrying shotguns and pistols. Numerous protest statements have been received from around the world in response to an appeal by our fraternal comrades of Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LM/LQB—Metal Workers Struggle/ Fourth Internationalist League of Brazil).

Brazil has one of the highest rates of social inequality in the world. Over 44 percent of all agricultural land belongs to less than 1 percent of the  
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Bodies of poor peasants gunned down by Military Police in the northern Brazilian state of Pará.